

*Samuel A. Williams*  
**OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS**

RELATIVE TO THE

**OPERATIONS**

OF

**THE BRITISH ARMY**

EMPLOYED IN THE

**REDUCTION OF THE CANADAS,**

UNDER MAJORS-GENERAL WOLFE, AMHERST, &c.

In the Years 1759 and 1760.

WITH

**DESCRIPTIONS**

OF

**QUEBEC AND MONTREAL.**

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**WITH**  
**DESCRIPTIONS OF QUEBEC AND MONTREAL.**

*Letter from Major-General Wolfe, to Secretary Pitt, dated*  
*Head-Quarters, at Montmorenci, in the river*  
*St. Lawrence, September 2, 1759.*

SIR,

I WISH I could, upon this occasion, have the honour of transmitting you a more favourable account of the progress of his majesty's arms; but the obstacles we have met with in the operations of the campaign, are much greater than we had reason to expect, or could foresee; not so much from the number of the enemy, (though superior to us,) as from the natural strength of the country, which the marquis de Montcalm seems wisely to depend upon.

When I learned that succours of all kinds had been thrown into Quebec; that five battalions of regular troops, completed from the best inhabitants of the country, some of the troops of the colony, and every Canadian that was able to bear arms, besides several nations of savages, had taken the field in a very advantageous situation; I could not flatter myself that I should be able to reduce the place. I sought, however, an occasion to attack their army, knowing well that with these troops I was able to fight, and hoping that a victory might disperse them.

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We found them encamped along the shore of Beaufort, from the river St. Charles to the falls of Montmorenci, and intrenched in every accessible part. The 27th of June we landed upon the island of Orleans; but receiving a message from the admiral that there was reason to think that the enemy had artillery and a force upon the point of Levi, I detached brigadier-general Moncton with four battalions to drive them from thence. He passed the river the 29th at night, and marched the next day to the point. He obliged the enemy's irregulars to retire, and possessed himself of that post; the advanced parties upon this occasion had two or three skirmishes with the Canadians and Indians, with little loss on either side.

Colonel Carleton marched with a detachment to the westernmost point of the isle of Orleans, from whence our operations were likely to begin. It was absolutely necessary to possess these two points, and fortify them, because, from either the one or the other, the enemy might make it impossible for any ship to lie in the bason of Quebec, or even within two miles of it. Batteries of mortars and cannon were erected with great despatch near the point of Levi to bombard the town and magazines, and to injure the works and batteries; the enemy perceiving these works in some forwardness, passed the river with 1600 men to attack and destroy them. Unluckily they fell into confusion, fired upon one another, and went back again; by which we lost an opportunity of defeating this large detachment. The effect of this artillery had been so great (though across the river) that the upper town is considerably damaged, and the lower town entirely destroyed. The works for the security of our hospital and stores on the isle of Orleans being finished, on the 9th July, at night, we passed the north channel, and encamped near the enemy's left, the river Montmorenci between us. The next morning captain Danks's company of rangers, posted in a wood to cover some workmen, were attacked and defeated by a body of Indians, and had so many killed and wounded, as to be almost disabled for the rest of the campaign; the enemy also suffered in this affair, and were in their turn driven off by the nearest troops. The ground to the eastward of the falls seemed to be (as it really is) higher than that on the enemy's side, and to command it in a manner, which might be made useful to us. There is besides a ford below the falls,



which may be passed for some hours in the latter part of the ebb, and beginning of the flood tide; and I had hopes, that possibly means might be found of passing the river above, so as to fight M. Montcalm upon terms of less disadvantage than directly attacking his intrenchments. In reconnoitring the river Montmorenci, we found it fordable at a place about three miles up; but the opposite bank was intrenched, and so steep and woody, that it was to no purpose to attempt a passage there. The escort was twice attacked by the Indians, who were as often repulsed; but in these rencounters we had 40 (officers and men) killed and wounded.

The 18th of July, two men of war, two armed sloops, and two transports with some troops on board, passed by the town without any loss, and got into the upper river. This enabled me to reconnoitre the country above, where I found the same attention on the enemy's side, and great difficulty on ours, arising from the nature of the ground, and the obstacles to our communication with the fleet. But what I feared most, was, that if we should land between the town and cape Rouge, the body first landed could not be reinforced before they were attacked by the enemy's whole army.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, I thought once of attempting it at St. Michael's, about three miles above the town; but perceiving that the enemy were jealous of the design, were preparing against it, and had actually brought artillery and a mortar (which being so near to Quebec they could increase as they pleased) to play upon the shipping; and as it must have been many hours before we could attack them (even supposing a favourable night for the boats to pass by the town unhurt), it seemed so hazardous that I thought it best to desist.

However, to divide the enemy's force, and to draw their attention as high up the river as possible, and to procure some intelligence, I sent a detachment under the command of colonel Carleton to land at Pointe de Trempe, to attack whatever he might find there, bring off some prisoners, and all the useful papers he could get. I had been informed that a number of the inhabitants of Quebec had retired to that place, and that probably we should find there a magazine of provisions.

The colonel was fired upon by a body of Indians the moment he

landed, but they were soon dispersed and driven into the woods; he searched for magazines, but to no purpose; brought off some prisoners, and returned with little loss.

After this business I returned to Montmorenci, when I found that brigadier Townshend had, by a superior fire, prevented the French from erecting a battery on the bank of the river, from whence they intended to cannonade our camp. I now resolved to take the first opportunity that presented itself, of attacking the enemy, though posted to great advantage, and every where prepared to receive us.

As the men of war cannot (for want of sufficient depth of water) come near enough to the enemy's intrenchments to give them the least annoyance, the admiral had prepared two transports (drawing but little water), which upon occasions could be run aground to favour a descent. With the help of these vessels, which I understood would be carried by the tide close in shore, I proposed to make myself master of a detached redoubt near the water's edge, and whose situation appeared to be out of musket-shot of the intrenchment on the hill. If the enemy supported this detached piece, it would necessarily bring on an engagement, what we most wished for; and if not, I should have it in my power to examine their situation, so as to be able to determine where we could best attack them.

Preparations were accordingly made for an engagement. The 31st July, in the forenoon, the boats of the fleet were filled with grenadiers, and a part of brigadier Moncton's brigade from the point of Levi. The two brigades under the command of brigadiers Townshend and Murray, were ordered to be in readiness to pass the ford, when it might be thought necessary. To facilitate the passage of this corps, the admiral had placed the Centurion in the channel, so that she might check the fire of the lower batteries which commanded the ford. This ship was of great use, as her fire was very judiciously directed. A great quantity of artillery was placed on the eminence, so as to batter and enfilade the left of their intrenchments.

From the vessels which run aground nearest in, I observed that the redoubt was too much commanded to be kept without very great loss; and the more so as the two armed ships could not be brought near enough to cover both with their artillery and musketry, which I at first conceived they might. But as the enemy seemed in some con-

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fusion, and we were prepared for action, I thought it a proper time to make an attempt upon their intrenchment. Orders were sent to the brigadiers-general to be ready with the corps under their command, brigadier-general Moncton to land, and the brigadiers Townshend and Murray to pass the ford.

At a proper time of the tide the signal was made, but in rowing towards the shore many of the boats grounded upon a ledge that runs off a considerable distance. This accident put us into some disorder, lost a great deal of time, and obliged me to send an officer to stop brigadier Townshend's march, whom I then observed to be in motion. Whilst the seamen were getting the boats off, the enemy fired a number of shells and shot, but these did no considerable damage. As soon as this disorder could be set a little to rights, and the boats were ranged in a proper manner, some of the officers of the army went in with me to find a better place to land: we took one flat-bottomed boat with us to make the experiment, and as soon as we had found a fit part of the shore, the troops were ordered to disembark, thinking it not yet too late for the attempt.

The 13 companies of grenadiers, and 200 of the 2d royal American battalion, got first on shore. The grenadiers were ordered to form themselves into four distinct bodies, and to begin the attack, supported by brigadier Moncton's corps, as soon as the troops had passed the ford, and were at hand to assist. But, whether from the noise and hurry at landing, or from some other cause, the grenadiers, instead of forming themselves as they had been directed, ran on impetuously towards the enemy's intrenchments in the utmost disorder and confusion, without waiting for the corps which were to sustain them and join in the attack. Brigadier Moncton was not landed, and brigadier Townshend was still at a considerable distance, though upon his march to join us, in very great order. The grenadiers were checked by the enemy's first fire, and obliged to shelter themselves in or about the redoubt which the French abandoned upon their approach. In this situation they continued for some time, unable to form under so hot a fire, and having many gallant officers wounded, who (careless of their persons) had been solely intent upon their duty. I saw the absolute necessity of calling them off, that they might form themselves behind brigadier Moncton's corps,

which was now landed, and drawn up on the beach in extreme good order.

By this new accident, and this second delay, it was near night;—a sudden storm came on, and the tide began to make; so that I thought it most advisable not to persevere in so difficult an attack, lest (in case of a repulse) the retreat of brigadier Townshend's corps might be hazardous and uncertain.

Our artillery had great effect upon the enemy's left, where brigadiers Townshend and Murray were to have attacked; and it is probable, if those accidents which I have spoken of had not happened, we should have penetrated there, whilst our left and centre (more remote from our artillery) must have borne all the violence of their musquetry.

The French did not attempt to interrupt our march. Some of the savages came down to murder such wounded as could not be brought off, and to scalp the dead, agreeably to their usual custom.

The place where the attack was intended, has these advantages over all others hereabout. Our artillery could be brought into use. The greatest part, or even the whole of the troops might act at once; and the retreat (if necessary) was secure, at least for a certain time of the tide. Neither one or other of these advantages can any where else be found. The enemy were indeed posted upon a commanding eminence. The beach upon which the troops were drawn up was of a deep mud, with holes, and cut by several gullies. The hill to be ascended, very steep, and not every where practicable. The enemy numerous in their intrenchments, and their fire hot. If the attack had succeeded, our loss must certainly have been great, and theirs inconsiderable, from the shelter which the neighbouring woods afforded them. The river St. Charles still remained to be passed, before the town was invested. All these circumstances I considered; but the desire to act in conformity to the king's intentions, induced me to make this trial, persuaded that a victorious army finds no difficulties.

The enemy have been fortifying ever since with care, so as to make a second attempt still more dangerous.

Immediately after this check, I sent brigadier Murray above the town with 1200 men, directing him to assist rear-admiral Holmes

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in the destruction of the French ships (if they could be got at), in order to open a communication with general Amherst. The brigadier was to seek every favourable opportunity of fighting some of the enemy's detachments, provided he could do it upon favourable terms, and to use all means in his power to provoke them to attack him. He made two different attempts to land upon the north shore without success; but in a third was more fortunate. He landed unexpectedly at De Chambaud, and there burnt a magazine, in which were some provisions, some ammunition, and all the spare stores, clothing, arms, and baggage of their army.

Finding that their ships were not to be got at, and little prospect of bringing the enemy to a battle, he reported his situation to me, and I ordered him to join the army.

The prisoners he took informed him of the surrender of the fort of Niagara; and we discovered by intercepted letters, that the enemy had abandoned Carillon and Crown-point, and were retired to the Isle Aux Noix; and that general Amherst was making preparations to pass lake Champlain, to fall upon M. Bourlemaque's corps, which consists of three battalions of foot, and as many Canadians as make the whole amount to three thousand men.

The admiral's despatches and mine would have gone eight or ten days sooner, if I had not been prevented from writing by a fever. I found myself so ill, and am still so weak, that I begged the general officers to consult together for the public utility. They are all of opinion, that (as more ships and provisions have now got above the town) they should try, by conveying up a corps of 4 or 5000 men (which is nearly the whole strength of the army, after the points of Levy and Orleans are left in a proper state of defence), to draw the enemy from their present situation, and bring them to action. I have acquiesced in their proposal, and we are preparing to put it into execution.

The admiral and I have examined the town, with a view to a general assault; but, after consulting with the chief engineer, who is well acquainted with the interior parts of it, and after viewing it with the utmost attention, we found that, though the batteries of the lower town might be easily silenced by the men of war, yet the business of an assault would be little advanced by that, since the few

passages that lead from the lower to the upper town, are carefully intrenched; and the upper batteries cannot be affected by the ships, which, however, must receive considerable damage from them, and from the mortars. The admiral would readily join in this, or in any other measure for the public service; but he could not propose to him an undertaking of so dangerous a nature, and promising so little success.

To the uncommon strength of the country, the enemy have added (for the defence of the river) a great number of floating batteries, and boats. By the vigilance of these, and the Indians round our different posts, it has been impossible to execute any thing by surprise. We have had almost daily skirmishes with these savages, in which they are generally defeated, but not without loss on our side.

By the list of disabled officers (many of whom are of rank) you may perceive, sir, that the army is much weakened. By the nature of the river, the most formidable part of this armament is deprived of the power of acting; yet, we have almost the whole force of Canada to oppose. In this situation, there is such a choice of difficulties, that I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain, I know, require the most vigorous measures; but then, the courage of a handful of men should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favourable event. However, you may be assured, sir, that the small part of the campaign which remains, shall be employed (as far as I am able) for the honour of his majesty, and the interest of the nation, in which I am sure of being well seconded by the admiral, and by the generals. Happy if our efforts here can contribute to the success of his majesty's arms in any other parts of America. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant,

JAMES WOLFE.

Right honourable Mr. secretary Pitt, &c. &c. &c.

*Return of killed, wounded, and missing.*

|                        | Killed.    | Wounded.   | Missing.  |
|------------------------|------------|------------|-----------|
| Officers, - - - -      | 11         | 46         | 00        |
| Sergeants, - - - -     | 9          | 26         | 00        |
| Drummers, - - - -      | 0          | 7          | 00        |
| Rank and file, - - - - | 163        | 572        | 17        |
| <b>Total</b>           | <b>182</b> | <b>651</b> | <b>17</b> |

Memorandum.—This refers to the affair near Montmorenci, 31st July, 1759.

Extra orders given out by general Wolfe, on the 1st of August, 1759, the day after he attacked the enemy's intrenchments below the hills of Montmorenci.

"The check which the grenadiers experienced yesterday will, it is hoped, be a lesson to them for the future. Such impetuous, irregular, and unsoldier-like proceedings, destroy all order, make it impossible for their commanders to form any disposition for an attack, and put it out of the general's power to execute his plan. The grenadiers could not suppose, that *they alone* could beat the French army; and therefore it was necessary that the corps under brigadier-general Moncton and brigadier Townshend should have had time to join, in order that the attack might be general. The very first fire of the enemy was sufficient to repulse men who had lost all sense of order and military discipline. Amherst's and the Highland regiments alone, by the soldier-like and cool manner in which they were formed, would undoubtedly have beat back the whole Canadian army if they had ventured to attack them. The loss, however, is inconsiderable, and may be easily repaired, when a favourable opportunity offers, provided the men will shew a proper attention to their officers."

*Letter from Admiral Saunders to Secretary Pitt, dated*

Stirling Castle, off Point Levi, in the river St. Laurence,  
5th September, 1759.

SIR,

In my letter of the 6th of June, I acquainted you I was then off Scatari, standing for the river St. Laurence. On the 26th, I had got up, with the first division of the fleet and transports, as far as the middle of the isle of Orleans, where I immediately prepared to land the troops, which I did the next morning. The same day the second and third divisions came up, and the troops from them were landed likewise.

I got thus far without any loss or accident whatever; but directly after landing the troops, a very hard gale of wind came on, by which many anchors and small boats were lost, and much damage received among the transports by their driving on board each other. The ships that lost most anchors I supplied from the men of war, as far as I was able, and, in all other respects, gave them the best assistance in my power.

On the 28th at midnight, the enemy sent down from Quebec seven fireships; and though our ships and transports were so numerous and necessarily spread so great a part of the channel, we towed them all clear and aground, without receiving the least damage from them. The next night general Monckton crossed the river and landed with his brigade on the south shore, and took post at Point Levi; and general Wolfe took his on the westernmost point of the isle of Orleans.

On the 1st of July I moved up between the points of Orleans and Levi; and, it being resolved to land on the north shore, below the falls of Montmorenci, I placed, on the 8th instant, his majesty's sloop the Porcupine and the Boscawen armed vessel, in the channel between Orleans and the north shore, to cover that landing, which took place that night.

On the 17th, I ordered capt. Rous of the Sutherland to proceed, with the first fair wind and night tide, above the town of Quebec, and to take with him his majesty's ships Diana and Squirrel, with

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two armed sloops, and two catts armed and loaded with provisions. On the 18th at night they all got up, except the Diana, and gave general Wolfe an opportunity of reconnoitring above the town; those ships having carried some troops with them for that purpose. The Diana ran ashore on the rocks off point Levi, and received so much damage, that I have sent her to Boston with 27 sail of American transports (those which received most damage in the gale of the 27th of June), where they are to be discharged; and the Diana, having repaired her damage, to proceed to England, taking with her the mast-ships, and what trade may be ready to accompany her.

On the 28th at midnight, the enemy sent down a raft of fire-stages, of near 100 radeaux, which succeeded no better than the fire-ships.

On the 31st, general Wolfe determined to land a number of troops above the falls of Montmorenci, in order to attack the enemy's lines; to cover which I placed the Centurion in the channel, between the isle of Orleans and the falls, and ran on shore, at high water, two catts which I had armed for that purpose, against two small batteries and two redoubts, where our troops were to land. About six in the evening they landed, but the general not thinking it proper to persevere in the attack, soon after part of them re-embarked, and the rest crossed the falls with general Wolfe; upon which, to prevent the two catts from falling into the enemy's hands (they being then dry on shore), I gave orders to take the men out, and set them on fire, which was accordingly done.

On the 5th of August in the night, I sent twenty flat-bottomed boats up the river, to the Sutherland, to embark 1260 of the troops with brigadier-general Murray, from a post we had taken on the south shore. I sent admiral Holmes up to the Sutherland, to act in concert with him, and gave him all the assistance the ships and boats could afford. At the same time I directed admiral Holmes to use his best endeavours to get at and destroy the enemy's ships above the town; and to that purpose I ordered the Lowestoffe, and Hunter sloop, with two armed sloops and two catts, with provisions, to pass Quebec, and to join the Sutherland; but the wind holding westerly, it was the 27th of August before they got up, which was the fourth attempt they had made to gain their passage.

On the 25th at night, admiral Holmes and general Murray, with part of the troops, returned; they had met with and destroyed a magazine of the enemy's clothing, some gunpowder, and other things; and admiral Holmes had been ten or twelve leagues above the town, but found it impracticable at that time to get further up.

General Wolfe having resolved to quit the camp at Montmorenci, and go above the town, in hopes of getting between the enemy and their provisions (supposed to be in the ships there), and by that means force them to an action, I sent up, on the 29th at night, the Sea-horse and two armed sloops, with two catts laden with provisions, to join the rest above Quebec; and, having taken off all the artillery from the camp at Montmorenci, on the 3d instant, in the forenoon, the troops embarked from thence, and landed at Point Levi. The 4th at night I sent all the flat-bottomed boats up, and this night a part of the troops will march up the south shore, above the town, to be embarked in the ships and vessels there, and to-morrow night the rest will follow. Admiral Holmes is also gone up again to assist in their future operations, and to try if, with the assistance of the troops, it is practicable to get at the enemy's ships.

As general Wolfe writes by this opportunity, he will give you an account of his part of the operations, and his thoughts what further may be done for his majesty's service. The enemy appear numerous, and seem to be strongly posted; but let the event be what it will, we shall remain here as long as the season of the year will permit, in order to prevent their detaching troops from hence against general Amherst; and I shall leave cruisers at the mouth of the river, to cut off any supplies that may be sent them, with strict orders to keep that station as long as possible. The town of Quebec is not habitable, being almost entirely burnt and destroyed.

I inclose you the present disposition of the ships under my command: twenty of the victuallers that sailed from England with the Echo, are arrived here, one unloaded at Louisbourg, having received damage in her passage out, and another I have heard nothing of. No ships of the enemy have come this way, that I have had any intelligence of, since my arrival in the river, except one laden with flour and brandy, which was taken by capt. Drake of the Lizard.

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teen sail, with provisions, stores, and a few recruits; got up, and are those we are so anxious, if possible, to destroy.

Yesterday I received a letter from general Amherst (to whom I have had no opportunity of writing since I have been in the river) dated, camp at Crown point, August the 7th, wherein he only desires I would send transports and a convoy to New York, to carry to England six hundred and seven prisoners taken at the surrender of Niagara.

I should have wrote to you sooner from hence, but while my despatches were preparing, general Wolfe was taken very ill; he has been better since, but is greatly out of order.

I shall very soon send home the great ships, and have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

CHARLES SAUNDERS.

*Letter from General Monckton to secretary Pitt, dated*

Camp at Point Levi, Sept. 15, 1759.

SIR,

I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that on the 13th instant, his majesty's troops gained a very signal victory over the French, a little above the town of Quebec. General Wolfe, exerting himself on the right of our line, received a wound pretty early, of which he soon after died, and I had myself the great misfortune of receiving one in my right breast by a ball, that went through part of my lungs (and which has been cut out under the blade bone of my shoulder), just as the French were giving way, which obliged me to quit the field. I have therefore, sir, desired general Townshend, who now commands the troops before the town (and of which I am in hopes he will be soon in possession), to acquaint you with the particulars of that day, and of the operations carrying on.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ROBERT MONCKTON.

P. S. His majesty's troops behaved with the greatest steadiness and bravery.

As the surgeons tell me there is no danger in my wound, I am in hopes of being soon enabled to join the army before the town.

*Letter from Brigadier-General Townshend to secretary Pitt, dated*

Camp before Quebec, Sept. 20, 1759.

SIR,

I have the honour to acquaint you with the success of his majesty's arms, on the 13th instant, in an action with the French, on the heights to the westward of this town.

It being determined to carry the operations above the town, the posts at point Levi and isle d'Orleans being secured, the general marched with the remainder of the force from point Levi the 5th and 6th, and embarked them in transports, which had passed the town for that purpose. On the 7th, 8th, and 9th, a movement of the ships was made up, by admiral Holmes, in order to amuse the enemy, now posted along the north shore; but the transports being exceedingly crowded, and the weather very bad, the general thought proper to cantoon half his troops on the south shore, where they were refreshed, and reembarked upon the 12th, at one in the morning. The light infantry, commanded by colonel Howe, the regiments of Bragg, Kennedy, Lascelles, and Anstruther, with a detachment of Highlanders, and American grenadiers, the whole being under the command of brigadiers Monckton and Murray, were put into the flat-bottomed boats, and, after some movement of the ships made by admiral Holmes, to draw off the attention of the enemy above, the boats fell down with the tide, and landed on the north shore, within a league of Cape Diamond, an hour before day-break: the rapidity of the ebb tide carried them a little below the intended place of attack, which obliged the light infantry to scramble up a woody precipice in order to secure the landing of the troops, by dislodging a captain's post, which defended a small intrenched path the troops were to ascend. After a little firing, the light infantry gained the top of the precipice, and dispersed the captain's post; by which means the troops, with a trifling loss from a few Canadians and Indians in the wood, got up, and were immediately formed. The boats, after dis-

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embarking their troops, were sent back for the second embarkation, which I immediately made. Brigadier Murray, who had been detached with Anstruther's battalion to attack the four-gun battery on the left, was recalled by the general, who now saw the French army crossing the river St. Charles. General Wolfe thereupon began forming his line, having his right covered by the Louiabourg grenadiers; on the right of these again he brought Otway's; to the left of the grenadiers were Bragg's, Kennedy's, Lascelles's, Highlanders, and Anstruther's; the right of this body was commanded by brigadier Monckton, and the left by brigadier Murray; his rear and left were protected by colonel Howe's light infantry, who was returned from the four-gun battery before-mentioned, which was soon abandoned to him. General Montcalm having collected the whole of his force from the Beauport side, and advancing, shewed his intention to flank our left, where I was immediately ordered with general Amherst's battalion, which I formed *en potence*. My numbers were soon after encreased by the arrival of two battalions of royal Americans; and Webb's was drawn up by the general, as a reserve, in eight subdivisions, with large intervals. The enemy lined the bushes in their front, with 1500 Indians and Canadians, and it is probable they had also placed there their best marksmen, who kept up a very galling, though irregular fire upon our whole line, who bore it with the greatest patience and good order, reserving their fire for the main body, now advancing. This fire of the enemy was, however, checked by our posts in front, which protected the forming our own line. The right of the enemy was composed of half the troops of the colony, viz. the battalions of La Sarre, Languedoc, and the remainder of their Canadians and Indians. Their centre was a column, and formed of the battalions of Bearne and Guienne. Their left was composed of the remaining troops of the colony, and the battalion of royal Rousillon. This was, as near as I can ascertain, their line of battle. They brought up two pieces of small artillery against us, and we had been able to bring up but one gun; which, being admirably well served, galled exceedingly their column. My attention to the left will not permit me to be very exact with regard to every circumstance which passed in the centre, much less to the right; but it is most certain that the enemy formed in good order, and that their at-

tack was very brisk and animated on that side. Our troops reserved their fire till within forty yards, which was then so well continued, that the enemy every where gave way. It was then that our illustrious general fell, at the head of Bragg's and the Louisbourg grenadiers advancing with their bayonets; and, about the same time, brigadier-general Monckton received his wound at the head of Lascelles's. In the front of the opposite battalions fell also Monsieur Montcalm; and his second in command is since dead of his wounds on board our fleet. Part of the enemy made a second faint attack. Part took to some thick copse wood, and seemed to make a stand. It was at this moment that each corps seemed in a manner to exert itself, with a view to its own peculiar character. The grenadiers, Bragg's, and Lascelles's, pressed on with their bayonets. Brigadier Murray, advancing briskly with the troops under his command, completed the route on this side; when the Highlanders, supported by Anstruther's, took to their broad-swords, and drove part into the town, and part to the works at their bridge on the river St. Charles.

The action on our left and rear was not so severe. The houses into which the light infantry were thrown, were well defended, being supported by colonel Howe, who taking post with two companies behind a small copse, and frequently sallying upon the flanks of the enemy during their attack, drove them often into heaps, against the front of which body I advanced platoons of Amherst's regiment, which totally prevented the right wing from executing their first design. Before this, one of the royal American battalions had been detached to preserve our communication with our boats, and the other being sent to occupy the ground which brigadier-general Murray's movement had left open, I remained with Amherst's to support this disposition, and to keep in check the enemy's right, and a body of their savages, which waited still more towards our rear, opposite the posts of our light infantry, waiting for an opportunity to fall upon our rear.

This, sir, was the situation of things, when I was told that there appeared some degree of confusion in the centre, arising from our pursuit of the enemy: I immediately repaired to that point, and immediately formed the troops with every possible degree of regularity. Scarcely was this effected when Monsieur Bougainville, with his

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corps from Cape Rouge, consisting of 2000 men, appeared in our rear. I advanced two pieces of artillery, and two battalions towards him, when he immediately retired. You will not, I hope, sir, blame me for not quitting such advantageous ground, and risking the fate of so decisive a day, by seeking a fresh enemy, posted perhaps in the very kind of ground he could wish for, viz. woods and swamps. We took a great number of French officers upon the field of battle, and one piece of cannon. Their loss is computed to be about 1500 men, which fell chiefly on their regulars. I have been employed, from the day of action to that of the capitulation, in redoubting our camp beyond insult, in making a road up the precipice for our cannon, in getting up artillery, preparing the batteries, and cutting off the enemy's communication with the country. The 17th, at noon, before we had any battery erected, or could have any for two or three days, a flag of truce came out with proposals of capitulation, which I sent back again to the town, allowing them four hours to capitulate, or no farther treaty. The admiral had, at this time, brought up his large ships, as intending to attack the town. The French officer returned at night with terms of capitulation; which, with the admiral, were considered, agreed to, and signed at eight o'clock in the morning of the 18th instant. The terms granted will, I flatter myself, be approved of by his majesty, considering the enemy were assembling in our rear, and, what is far more formidable, the very wet and cold season, which threatened our troops with sickness, and the fleet with some accident; our roads were already so bad, that we could not bring up a gun for some time; add to this, the advantage of entering the town with the walls in a defensible state, and thence being able to put there a garrison sufficiently strong to prevent a surprise. These, I hope, will be deemed sufficient considerations for granting them the terms which I have herewith the honour to transmit. The inhabitants of the country come in to us fast, bringing in their arms, and taking the oaths of fidelity, until a general peace determines their situation.

I have the honour to enclose herewith, a list of the killed and wounded; a list of the prisoners, as perfect as I have as yet been able to procure it; a list of the artillery and stores in the town, as well as of those fallen into our hands at Beauport in consequence of

the victory. By deserters we learn, that the enemy are re-assembling what troops they can, behind Cape Rouge; that Monsieur Levy is come down from the Montreal side to command them; some say he has brought with him, from thence, two battalions; if so, this blow has already assisted general Amherst. By other deserters we learn, that Monsieur Bougainville, with 800 men, and provisions, was on his march to throw himself into the town on the 18th, the very morning it capitulated, on which day we had not completed the investment of the place, as they had broke their bridge of boats, and had detachments in very strong works on the other side the river St. Charles.

I should not do justice to the admirals, and the naval service, if I neglected this occasion to acknowledge how much we are indebted for our success to the constant assistance and support received from them, and the perfect harmony and correspondence which have prevailed throughout all our operations, in the uncommon difficulties which the nature of this country, in particular, presents to military operations of a great extent, and which no army can itself solely supply; the immense labour required in transporting artillery, stores, and provisions; the long watchings and attendance in boats; the drawing up our artillery by seamen, even in the heat of the action; it is my duty, short as my command has been, to acknowledge for that, how great a share the navy has had in this successful campaign.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

GEORGE TOWNSHEND.

*Return of killed, wounded, and missing, on the Plains of Abraham, near Quebec, 13th September, 1759.*

Total killed, 1 general,\* 1 captain, 6 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 3 sergeants, 45 rank and file.

Total wounded, 1 brigadier-general,† 4 staff officers, 13 captains, 26 lieutenants, 10 ensigns, 25 sergeants, 4 drummers, 506 rank and file.

\* Major-General Wolfe killed.

† Brigadier-General Monekton wounded.

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Missing, 3 rank and file.

Royal train of artillery and engineers, lieutenant Benzell, engineer, wounded; 1 gunner killed; 1 bombardier, 1 gunner, 5 matrosses, wounded.

### RECAPITULATION.

|                                  | Killed.   | Wounded.   | Missing. |
|----------------------------------|-----------|------------|----------|
| Officers, - - - -                | 9         | 53         | 00       |
| Sergeants, - - - -               | 3         | 25         | 00       |
| Drummers, - - - -                | 00        | 4          | 00       |
| Rank and file, - - - -           | 45        | 506        | 3        |
| <b>ROYAL TRAIN OF ARTILLERY.</b> |           |            |          |
| Officers, - - - -                | 00        | 1          | 00       |
| Gunners, - - - -                 | 1         | 1          | 00       |
| Bombardiers, - - - -             | 00        | 1          | 00       |
| Matrosses, - - - -               | 00        | 5          | 00       |
| <b>Totals, - - - -</b>           | <b>58</b> | <b>596</b> | <b>3</b> |

Commander in chief, Major-General Wolfe.

English line,  
 15th Amherst's,  
 28th Bragg's,  
 35th Otway's,  
 43d Kennedy's,  
 47th Lascelles's,  
 48th Webb's,  
 58th Anstruther's,  
 Monckton's,  
 78th Highlanders,  
 Laurence's,  
 Frazer's,  
 Louisburgh grenadiers.  
 Royal artillery.

N. B. Maj. Gen. Wolfe killed.  
 Brig. Gen. Monckton wounded.  
 13th Sept. 1759.

Commander in chief, marquis de Montcalm.

French line. *Strength.*  
 Right { La Colonie, 350  
 La Sane, 340  
 [one 12 po. iron.  
 Languedoc 320  
 Column { Bearn, 200  
 La Guienne, 200  
 Left { Royal Roussillon, 230  
 [one 12 po. intend-  
 ed to be here, but  
 was not placed.  
 La Colonie, 300  
 Militia in the bushes and  
 along the face of the } 1500  
 bank, - - - }  
 Total, 3540.

*Principal officers.*

Marquis de Montcalm, dead.  
 Brigadier Senezenquer, do.

*French Force continued.*

**M. Bougainville's command.**

Five companies grenadiers, 150 Canadian volunteers, 230 cavalry, 875 militia.—Total 1500, exclusive of 189 marines.

N. B. The above are all on board ships.

The battery of four pieces of cannon, 18 pounders, was destroyed the morning of our landing.

Two pieces of cannon were taken on the field.

**GEORGE TOWNSHEND, Brigadier.**

*Articles of Capitulation demanded by M. de Ramsay, commander for his most Christian majesty in the higher and lower town of Quebec, knight of the military order of St. Louis, from his excellency the general commanding his Britannic majesty's forces.*

Article I. M. de Ramsay demands the honours of war for his garrison, and that it shall be conducted back to the army in safety by the shortest road, with their arms, baggage, six pieces of brass cannon, two mortars or howitzers, and twelve rounds.—*The garrison of the town, composed of land forces, marines, and sailors, shall march out with their arms and baggage, drums beating, lighted matches, with two pieces of cannon, and twelve rounds, and shall be embarked as conveniently as possible, in order to be landed at the first port in France.*

Art. II. That the inhabitants shall be maintained in the possession of their houses, goods, effects, and privileges.—*Granted, provided they lay down their arms.*

Art. III. That the said inhabitants shall not be molested on account of their having borne arms for the defence of the town, as they were forced to it, and as it is customary for the inhabitants of the colonies of both crowns to serve as militia.—*Granted.*

Art. IV. That the effects belonging to the absent officers or inhabitants, shall not be touched.—*Granted.*

Art. V. That the said inhabitants shall not be removed, nor ob-

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liged to quit their houses, until their condition shall be settled by a definitive treaty, between their most Christian and Britannic majesties.—*Granted.*

Art. VI. That the exercise of the catholic and Roman religion shall be preserved, and that safe-guards shall be granted to the houses of the clergy, and to the monasteries, particularly to the bishop of Quebec, who, animated with zeal for religion, and charity for the people of his diocese, desires to reside constantly in it, to exercise freely and with that decency which his character and the sacred mysteries of the catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion require, his episcopal authority in the town of Quebec, wherever he shall think it proper, until the possession of Canada shall have been decided by a treaty between their most Christian and Britannic majesties.—*The free exercise of the Roman religion. Safe-guards granted to all religious persons, as well as to the bishop, who shall be at liberty to come and exercise freely, and with decency, the functions of his office wherever he shall think proper, until the possession of Canada shall have been decided between their Britannic and most Christian majesties.*

Art. VII. That the artillery and warlike stores shall be delivered up *bona fide*, and an inventory taken thereof.—*Granted.*

Art. VIII. That the sick, wounded, commissaries, chaplains, physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, and other persons employed in the hospitals, shall be treated agreeable to the cartel settled between their most Christian and Britannic majesties on the 6th of February, 1759.—*Granted.*

Art. IX. That, before delivering up the gate, and the entrance of the town, to the English forces, their general will be pleased to send some soldiers to be placed as safe-guards at the churches, convents, and chief habitations.—*Granted.*

Art. X. That the commander of the city of Quebec shall be permitted to send advice to the marquis de Vaudreuil, governor-general, of the reduction of the town; as also that this general shall be allowed to write to the French ministry, to inform them thereof.—*Granted.*

Art. XI. That the present capitulation shall be executed according to its form and tenour, without being liable to non-execution un-

der pretence of reprisals, or the non-execution of any preceding capitulation.—*Granted.*

The present treaty has been made and settled between us, and duplicates signed at the camp before Quebec, the 18th of September, 1759.

CHARLES SAUNDERS,  
GEORGE TOWNSHEND,  
DE RAMSAY.

## QUEBEC

Is situated on a prominent point of land, between the rivers St. Lawrence and St. Charles, about 320 miles from the sea, in north lat.  $46^{\circ} 48'$ ; long. west, from London,  $71^{\circ} 15'$ ; and east, from Washington,  $5^{\circ} 45'$ .<sup>\*</sup> It is 60 miles distant from the nearest point in the United States, in the district of Maine—170 from Montreal—246 from Plattsburg—and 796 from Albany. The town is divided into upper and lower. The upper town stands on a high limestone rock, of great natural strength, and it is well fortified. The citadel is constructed on the highest part of Cape Diamond, 350 feet above the river, and is very strong; and the whole works have, of late years, been much improved.

The lower town occupies the ground at the basis of the promontory, which has been gained from the cliffs, on one side, by mining, and from the river, on the other, by the construction of wharves; and this is the principal place of commerce.

In consequence of the peculiarity of situation, the streets are generally irregular and uneven; many of them very narrow, and but few of them are paved. The houses are generally built of stone, and are very rough and unsightly, the interior being plain and void of taste. The public buildings are numerous, but the greater part of them are equally void of taste and elegance with the private buildings; though much labour and expense must have been bestowed on the construction. The principal public buildings are the Catholic

<sup>\*</sup> See Melish's map of the seat of war.

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cathedral church, the Jesuit's college, the seminary, the protestant metropolitan church, the court-house, the hotel Dieu, convent of Ursulines, library, general hospital, &c. The monastery, once a building of considerable importance, was destroyed by fire, in 1796; and the order became extinct.

The population appears, by the most recent accounts, to be about 15,000. About two-thirds of the inhabitants are of French extraction, who are gay and lively; and the inhabitants generally, are represented as being polite and hospitable.

Before the present war Quebec was a great emporium of commerce, and the city was remarkably well-supplied with provisions. The country round Quebec is pretty fertile; but the stoppage of the supplies from the United States must have a considerable effect, both on the trade and markets.

The river, opposite the city, is from 900 to 1000 yards broad, and its greatest depth, at high water, is thirty fathoms, the anchorage being every where safe and good. The flow of the tide is very strong, rising usually to eighteen feet, and at spring-tides to twenty-four. The river, in winter, is frequently frozen over, when the scene becomes very amusing and interesting, affording the country people, on the south side, an opportunity of bringing their produce to market over the ice; and presenting a field for the exercise of the citizens, who are frequently seen driving their horses and carriages on the frozen surface of the river. Below the town the river widens out into a spacious basin, capable of containing a vast quantity of shipping. Immediately below this it is divided by the island of Orleans into two streams, from whence it widens out to 10 or 12 miles, continuing to encrease till it reaches the gulph of St. Lawrence, where it is 170 miles wide, and discharges one of the largest collections of fresh water on the surface of the globe. It is navigable with ships of the largest burden to Quebec, and with merchant vessels to Montreal. The tide flows to Three Rivers, about 70 miles above Quebec.

The view round Quebec is beautiful. To the west are the heights and plains of Abraham, rendered memorable by the battle between the French and English, in 1759. To the north is the river St. Charles, of which the windings present a picturesque appearance.

To the south and south-east is the river and high-lands above Point des Peres. To the east is the basin, Point Levi, Isle of Orleans, with the north and south channels. To the north-east are the mountains of Beauport, stretching beyond the river Montmorenci, remarkable as exhibiting one of the most wonderful falls in the world, a description of which shall close this account.

The river Montmorenci rises in the north-east, and passes through a course of considerable extent. On its approach to the St. Lawrence the channel is bounded by precipitous rocks, its breadth becomes much contracted, and the rapidity of the current is augmented. On the east side the bank is about 50 feet high, and nearly perpendicular; the opposite bank being of a singular shape, resembling the ruins of a lofty wall. The river descends between them with a foaming current, broken by huge masses of stone in its bottom. It continues to augment in velocity, and forms several cascades before reaching the great fall; when it is precipitated, in an almost perpendicular direction, over a rock 246 feet high, forming one of the most sublime views in the world.

The breadth of the fall is 100 feet. The basin is bounded by steep cliffs, composed of grey limestone. An advantageous view of the fall may be obtained from the beach of the St. Lawrence, when it is low water.

After the reduction of Quebec the whole country above it fell before the British arms; and has since become the seat of very extensive settlements, under the British government. Of these the most important is the city of Montreal, being the great mart for traffic with the northern states, and with the Indians, and the emporium of the fur trade. A description and plan of that city, and adjacent country, has therefore been judged a proper accompaniment to the account of Quebec.

## MONTREAL

Is situated on the south-east side of an island of the same name, in the river St. Lawrence, in  $45^{\circ} 28'$  north latitude; and longi-

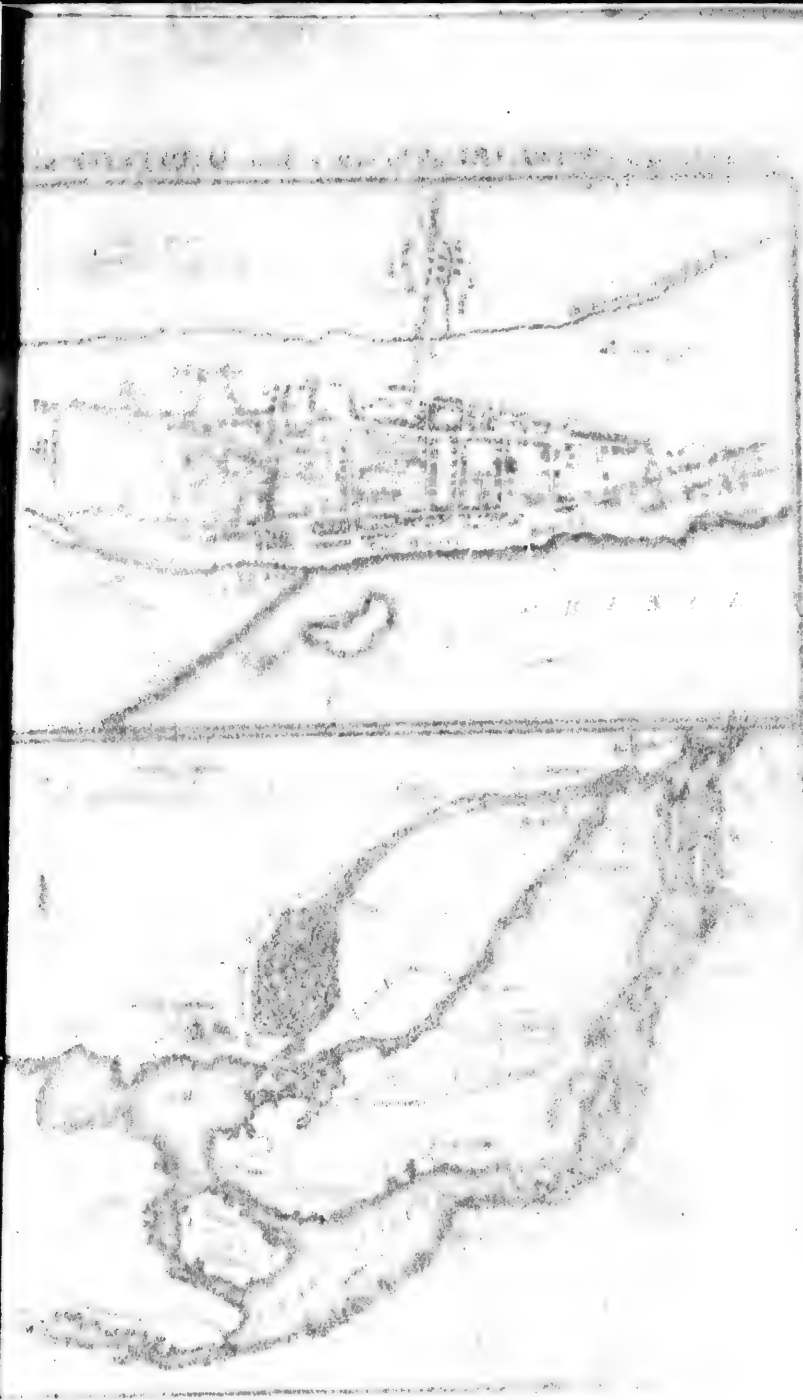
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To the south and south-east is the river and high-lands above Point des Peres. To the east is the basin, Point Levi Isle of Orleans, with the north and south channels. To the north-east are the mountains of Beauport, stretching beyond the river Montmorenci, remarkable as exhibiting one of the most wonderful falls in the world: a description of which shall close this account.

The river Montmorenci rises in the north-west, and passes through a course of considerable extent. On its approach to the St. Lawrence the channel is bounded by precipitous rocks, its bottom becomes much contracted, and the rapidity of the current is augmented. At one end of the bed it is about 40 feet high, and nearly perpendicular, the opposite bank being of a singular shape, resembling the tops of a lofty wall. The river descends between them with a foaming current, broken by huge masses of stone in its bottom. It continues to augment in velocity, and forms several cascades before reaching the great fall; when it is precipitated, in an almost perpendicular line, over a rock 245 feet high, forming one of the most stupendous scenes in the world.

The mountain on which the river descends is bounded by steep cliffs, and is covered by a growth of pine and fir. An extraordinary view of the St. Lawrence, the mountains, and the great fall of the St. Lawrence, when the river is in flood.

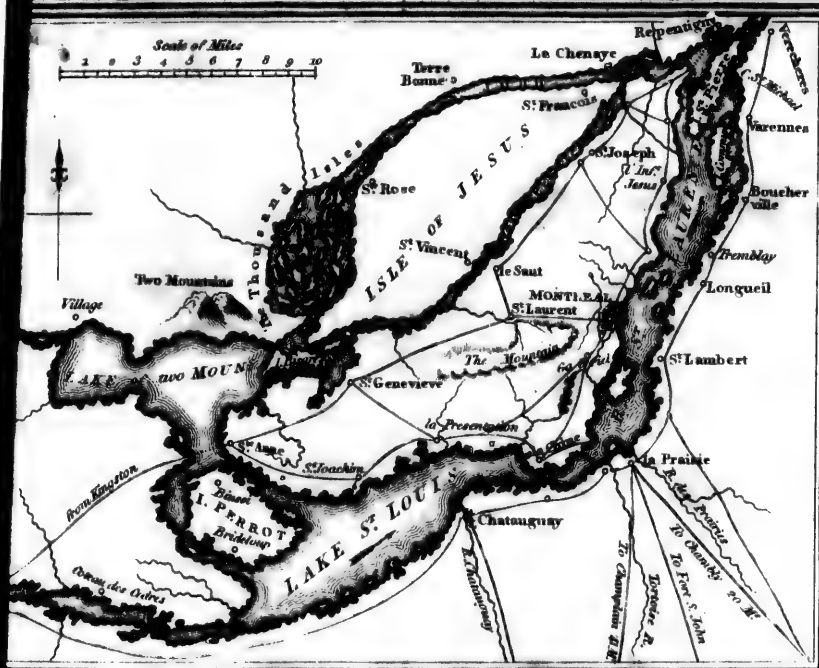
After the river has passed the wide country, where it fell before the St. Lawrence, and has become the seat of very extensive settlements, the river becomes more contracted. Of these the most important is the city of Quebec, being the great mart for traffic with the northern provinces, and the seat of the government, and the emporium of the fur trade. A description of the city and adjacent country, and the river, shall be given in a separate account to the account of the river.

### NATURAL

The island of Orleans is an island of the same name, situated in the St. Lawrence, about 20 miles north latitude; and longi-



of MONTREAL, with a MAP of the ISLANDS & adjoining Country.



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tude west from London  $73^{\circ} 20'$ ; being east from Washington  $3^{\circ} 40'$ .\* It is 170 miles above Quebec, 500 from the sea, 40 from the nearest land in the United States, 66 from Plattsburg, 200 from Kingston, at the east end of lake Ontario, and about the same distance from Sacket's Harbour. It is built in the form of a parallelogram, extending from north-east to south-west, and was originally surrounded by a wall to defend it against the Indians; but it was never in a state to resist the attack of a regular army. The fortifications fell to ruin long ago, and, in pursuance of an act of the colonial legislature, they have lately been entirely demolished. This city, like Quebec, is divided into upper and lower, though the difference of level between them does not exceed fifteen feet.

The streets are sufficiently wide, and regularly disposed, crossing one another mostly at right angles, so that the city is airy and agreeable. The houses of the principal inhabitants are neat and commodious; and the store-houses, for merchandize, are spacious and secure; but many of the other houses are badly built, and have a very poor appearance. The principal public buildings are the hotel Dieu, founded in 1644; the general hospital, *Place d'Armes*, the cathedral, a Roman catholic and an English church, a seminary, two convents, government house, and a court of law. Anciently there were a number of gates to the city, distinguished by several names, some of which yet remain, but the walls being away, the gates are now only known by name.

The front of the city stands on an eminence of from 10 to 15-feet above the level of the river, which forms a natural and very excellent wharf, the seat of an extensive commerce; and the environs are composed of four streets, viz. Quebec, St. Lawrence, Recolet, and St. Antoine. The city and suburbs contain about 12,000 inhabitants; and the city is in such a state of improvement that it promises to become one of the most important places on the western continent.

*Montreal island* is 30 miles long, and its greatest breadth between 7 and 8; its circumference being about 70 miles. The land rises gradually from the river, and, at the distance of two miles and a half from the city, forms a mountain, about 700 feet high, from the top of which there is a fine view.

\* See Melish's map of the seat of war.

The island is divided into nine parishes, and is the seat of very extensive population. The principal settlements, besides Montreal, are *la Chine*, so called from a project formed to penetrate across the continent to China from this place; St. Joseph, le Saut, St. Laurent, St. Genevive, and St. Ann.

*The isle of Jesus* lies to the north-west of Montreal, from which it is divided by the river des Prairies; so called from being bordered on each side by meadows. This island is about 15 miles long, and 5 broad, and contains several settlements: and to the westward are two smaller islands, named *Bisart*, and *Perrot*. To the north of the isle of Jesus is the river St. John, a branch of the Outawas, or Grand River, a considerable stream, which towards the west is interspersed with such a vast variety of islands, that there appears as much land as water. To the west of this are the *Two Mountains*, and to the south of them the Outawas River extends itself into a large basin, called the lake of the Two Mountains, being about 8 or 9 miles long, and 4 or 5 broad; and, being divided into two channels by the isle Perrot, it forms a junction with the St. Lawrence in the lake St. Louis.

*Lake St. Louis* is only an extension of the river St. Lawrence, about 4 miles broad, and stretches to *la Chine*, where it contracts to the breadth of little more than half a mile, and opposite to *la Prairie* there are considerable rapids; below which it spreads out into a stream from one to two miles wide, interspersed with a number of islands, among which the river runs with a strong current, and it is pretty deep. It is navigable with merchant vessels to Montreal, but it requires a strong east wind to bring them up, so that the passage is very tedious; but the city, nevertheless, has great mercantile advantages. It enjoys a much more favourable climate than Quebec, the winters being six weeks shorter. The soil around it is rich and fertile, and the markets are abundantly supplied; a considerable portion of the supplies, before the war, were furnished by the United States.

The mode of navigating the St. Lawrence and Outawas upwards, is interesting. The St. Lawrence is navigated by flat-bottomed boats, about forty-nine feet long, and six across, at the broadest part. They generally carry about 9000 lbs. and are conducted by four men and a

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guide. Each boat is supplied with a mast and sail, a grappling iron, with ropes, and setting poles. When loaded, they take their departure from la Chine, generally eight or ten together, that the crews may aid each other; and the time of performing the voyage to Kingston and back is about ten or twelve days; the distance being about 200 miles.

From twenty to thirty of these boats are kept in the service of the government, for transporting necessities to the troops, stores for the engineer department, and *presents of European manufacture* to the Indian tribes.

The navigation of the Outawas, or Grand River, is performed in *bark canoes*, in a direct course to St. Joseph, on lake Huron, and thence to the new establishment called Kamanastigua, on lake Superior.

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JOHN MELISH,

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